

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7798
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 8692

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PEPR PDIP CZ PL
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY IDEOLOGUE'S VISIT TO POLAND

REF: PRAGUE 2595

1. A POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP) DISPATCH CARRIED
IN TRYBUNA LUDU SEPTEMBER 21 REPORTED ON CZECHOSLOVAK
CP SECRETARY JAN FOJTIK'S SEPTEMBER 18-20 VISIT
TO POLAND. THE ARTICLE LED WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
FOJTIK'S MEETING WITH FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK, ATTENDED
BY POLISH PARTY SECRETARY AND POLITBURO CANDIDATE
MEMBER JERZY LUKASZEWICZ AND CSSR AMBASSADOR TO
POLAND JINDRICH REHOREK. PAP'S FORMULATION ON
THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED IN THE MEETING WAS COMEWHAT
MORE INTENSE THAN THAT IN RUDE PRAVO AS QUOTED
IN PARA 1 REFTEL. ACCORDING TO PAP IN THE "FRIENDLY,
DIRECT DISCUSSION" IT WAS STRESSED THAT CLOSE
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PZPR AND CPCZ IS OF
ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR DEVELOPING BILATERAL COOPERATION
AND POLISH - CZECHOSLOVAK FRIENDSHIP. (COMMENT:
WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY PRAGUE THAT "FRIENDLY, DIRECT"
COULD IMPLY SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTICIPANTS
IN THE MEETING, PARTICULARLY SINCE THERE IS NO
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REFERENCE TO UNANIMITY OF VIEWS. END COMMENT.)

2. BESIDES THAT WITH GIEREK, PAP SAID, FOJTIK HAD
ANOTHER MEETING WITH LUKASZEWICZ AND WITH THREE
PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT HEADS: KAZIMIERZ
ROKOSZEWSKI (PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION), WACLAW
PIATKOWSKI (FOREIGN AFFAIRS) AND BOGDAN GAWRONSKI

(CULTURE). THE PARTICIPANTS WERE SAID TO HAVE EXCHANGED INFORMATION ON THE TWO PARTIES' EXPERIENCE "IN CARRYING OUT CURRENT TASKS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION" AND DISCUSSED PROGRESS IN "BILATERAL IDEOLOGICAL COOPERATION" BETWEEN THE PZPR AND CPCZ AND ITS FURTHER INTENSIFICATION.

3. PAP ALSO REPORTED THAT FOJTIK AND A CPCZ "DELEGATION" MET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE POLISH COMMITTEE FOR RADIO AND TELEVISION HEADED BY MACIEJ SZCZEPANSKI AND TOURED THE URSUS ENGINEERING WORKS (A LARGE FACTORY ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF WARSAW AND THE SCENE OF THE MOST VIOLENT OF THE JUNE, 1976 DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE REGIME'S PLANNED CONSUMER PRICE RISES).

4. COMMENT: APART FROM HIS MEETING WITH GIEREK, FOJTIK'S VISIT SEEMS FROM A WARSAW PERSPECTIVE TO HAVE BEEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NORMAL PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS. AS A "HARDLINER RESPONSIBLE FOR IDEOLOGICAL WORK" (REFTEL PARA 3) FOJTIK SAW NOT ONLY HIS OPPOSITE NUMBER BUT PRESUMABLY SOMETHING OF A SOULMATE IN LUKASZEWICZ, THE PZPR'S CHIEF IDEOLOGUE WHO RANKS AMONG THE MOST DOCTRINAIRE HARDLINERS IN THE PARTY HIERARCHY. RADIO AND TV BOSS SZCZEPANSKI IS ANOTHER PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THIS PZPR FACTION. FOJTIK AND INTERLOCUTORS SUCH AS THESE SHOULD HAVE HAD LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING

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ON AT LEAST THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE CORRECT IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO BE TAKEN BY THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES.

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5. THE MEETING WITH GIEREK, HOWEVER, DOES SEEM TO ADD ANOTHER DIMENSION TO THE VISIT. IT WOULD SEEM SOMEWHAT INCONGRUOUS FOR THE CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY TO DEBATE DIRECTLY WITH GIEREK ON IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS VIA FOJTIK, WHO, WE ASSUME IS SEVERAL NOTCHES BELOW THE TOP OF THE CPCZ HIERARCHY. ON THE OTHER HAND, FOJTIK AND LUKASZEWICZ COULD HAVE SUMMED UP THE RESULTS OF THEIR EARLIER DISCUSSIONS (IT APPEARS THAT THE GIEREK MEETING CAME AT THE END OF FOJTIK'S STAY) AND SOLICITED THE FIRST SECRETARY'S COMMENTS. IN THAT EVENT, IT IS QUITE PLAUSIBLE THAT THE RELATIVELY MODERATE GIEREK COULD HAVE DIFFERED WITH SOME OF THE VIEWS PRESENTED BY FOJTIK (AND, FOR THAT MATTER, BY HIS OWN HARDLINE COLLEAGUE) AND THAT THOSE DIFFERENCES WERE REFLECTED IN BOTH THE CZECHOSLOVAK AND POLISH PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE MEETING.

6. WE DO NOT REJECT EMBASSY PRAGUE'S INTERESTING SUGGESTION THAT FOJTIK'S VISIT MIGHT HAVE BEEN RELATED IN SOME WAY TO THE RECENT MEETINGS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF CHARTER 77 AND THE COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL SELF-DEFENSE. IT SEEMS AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT BOTH THE CZECHOSLOVAK AND CONFIDENTIAL

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POLISH PARTIES MAY HAVE FELT THE NEED TO COORDINATE THEIR DOCTRINAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST AN ANTICIPATED COMMON LINE TO BE TAKEN BY THE DISSIDENT ORGANIZATIONS, ESPECIALLY ON HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES, AN AN OUTGROWTH OF THOSE MEETINGS. (WE NOTE IN PASSING THAT IN COMPARISON TO 1968 AND POLISH REGIME CONCERNS THEN THAT THE PRAGUE SPRING WOULD PROVE CONTAGIOUS IN POLAND, THIS TIME HUSAK AND COMPANY WOULD SEEM TO HAVE MORE GROUNDS FOR WORRY THAT POLISH DISSIDENT SUPPORT COULD ENCOURAGE CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NON-CONFORMISTS TO GREATER ACTIVISM.) HOWEVER, WE TEND TO DOUBT THAT THIS VISIT WOULD HAVE PROVIDED EITHER THE FORUM OR THE APPROPRIATE PARTICIPANTS FOR COORDINATING ANY DIRECT COUNTERMEASURES AGAINST ORGANIZED DISSIDENCE IN THE TWO COUNTRIES. END COMMENT.
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